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Monthly Summary.

DOMESTIC.—Since our last issue, the following public meetings have been held, to express sympathy with President Lincoln's Emancipation policy. Our columns are so full this month, that we cannot do more than record them.

On the 28th January, in the Broadmead Rooms, Bristol, George Thomas, Esq., in the chair.

On the 29th, at the Literary Institution, St. Leonard's Street, Pimlico, Mr. Bland presiding.

On the same evening, in St. George's Hall, Bradford, Mr. W. E. Forster in the chair.

On the same evening, in the Subscription Rooms, Stroud, Mr. J. Sibree presiding.

On the 2d February, at the Literary Institution, Bromley-le-Bow, Mr. Harper Twelvetees in the chair.

On the same evening, in the Guildhall, Bath, Mr. Jerome Murch in the chair; Mr. Geo. Thompson and Mr. Handel Corsham chief speakers.

On Tuesday evening, at Taylor's Repository, Newington Butts, London, a large demonstration, presided over by Mr. W. J. Haynes, the overflow of which was so great as to necessitate an open-air meeting outside the building, Mr. Sarrell, a vestryman of St. George's, in the chair.

On the 3rd, in the evening, in the Music Hall, Leeds, Mr. E. Baines, M.P., in the chair.

On the same evening, in the Public Hall, Rochdale, at a meeting to vote the thanks of

the inhabitants of the borough to the American merchants for the provisions sent to the Lancashire operatives, the Mayor (Mr. G. Ashworth) presiding, Mr. John Bright, M.P., spoke strongly to a large and sympathizing auditory, in favour of Mr. Lincoln's Emancipation policy.

On the same evening, a lecture on the American crisis, by the Rev. James Stuart Russell, in the large Schoolroom, Union Square, Lower Tottenham, Dr. Laseron, chairman.

On the same evening, at Aberdare, in the Temperance Hall, T. Williams, Esq., in the chair; and on the 9th, in the Ebenezer Independent Chapel, in the same town, the Rev. W. Edwards, minister of the chapel, presiding. Both meetings were crowded to excess.

On the 5th, at Galashiels, in the Corn Exchange, Mr. Frater in the chair.

On the 6th, a meeting of the officers and leading members of the London Trade Societies, at the Brown Bear, Broad Street, Bloomsbury, to arrange a demonstration of the trade unionists and working men of London, in favour of negro emancipation and the policy of the Federal Government. Mr. G. Odges presided, and about thirty of the principal trade societies were represented. The conference decided upon a meeting in Exeter Hall, but the final result has not yet been announced.

On the 10th, a lecture on the growth and fruits of American Slavery; in Craven Chapel, Marshall Street, Golden Square, by the Rev. J. Graham, its minister.

On the 11th, at the Rev. C. Stovel's

Chapel, Commercial Street, Mr. G. Gowland in the chair, a meeting in favor of the policy of Mr. Lincoln.

On the 12th, at Tunbridge, Mr. S. Scott in the chair, professor Allen chief speaker.

On the 16th, a large meeting at Rawtenstall, P. O. Whitehead, Esq., in the chair, passed resolutions of thanks for the supply of provisions sent from the people of the Northern States of America, and of sympathy with the Emancipation policy of the Federal Government.

On the same evening, at Kendal, in the Town Hall, W. D. Crewdson, Esq., of Elm Lodge, in the chair.

On the 17th, at Farnworth, Wm. Hamer, Esq., in the chair.

A Lecture, on the 17th, in the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool, by the Rev. Newman Hall, on the present struggle in relation to negro Slavery, the Rev. J. B. Jones, Incumbent of Christ Church, in the chair.

On the 18th, at Birmingham, a lecture, by J. A. Partridge, Esq., in the large room adjoining the Baptist Chapel, Heneage Street.

On the 18th, a great demonstration at St. James's Hall, London, W. Evans, Esq., President of the Emancipation Society, in the chair: a most enthusiastic and thoroughly abolitionist meeting.

On the same evening the Rev. Newman Hall lectured at Manchester.

On the 19th, at the Westminster Baths, Lambeth, a crowded meeting, the borough members being present, Mr. Williams in the chair.

On the 19th, at Edinburgh, in the Brighton Street Chapel, a monster meeting by the working men, Mr. Beaton, Secretary of the United Trades' Council, in the chair.

On the same evening, at Liverpool in the Amphitheatre, Mr. J. Cropper in the chair.

On the same evening, at the Athenæum, Carlisle, Mr. James Ross in the chair.

On the same evening, the Rev. Newman Hall lectured in the School-room of the Congregational Church, Luddenden Foot, Halifax, J. Bottomley in the chair.

On the same evening, in the Temperance Hall, Stockport, by the working men, Mr. W. E. Forester in the chair.

On the same evening, at a meeting of the *Oxford Unity Society*, Oxford, a resolution was proposed by Mr. W. Berkeley, Fellow of Trinity, seconded by Mr. T. H. Green, Fellow of Baliol, and carried after an animated debate, to the effect, "That the moral support given by England to the Confederate States is a disgrace to the nation."

On the 20th, Mr. G. Thompson delivered a lecture to a large audience, at Ashton-under-Lyne.

On the same evening, at Longsight, in the Mechanics' Institution, J. Kirkman, Esq., in the chair.

On the 23d, at York, a large meeting, convened by the Mayor, on a requisition of the inhabitants of the city. The Mayor occupied the chair.

On the same evening, at Manchester, a large public meeting in the Temperance Hall, Grosvenor Street, Mr. Max Kyllman in the chair. Mr. Peter Sinclair, recently from America, and a well-known abolitionist and temperance lecturer, delivered a stirring speech.

On the same evening, the Rev. W. Brock, of Bloomsbury Chapel, addressed the young men of his congregation, on the subject of American Slavery, appealing strongly to them not to promote a feeling in favour of a recognition of the Confederacy of slave-owners.

On the 26th, at Stockport, a large meeting, in the Temperance Hall, St. Peter's Gate, being the fifth and last of a series, Mr. W. Forester in the chair.

On the same evening, at Ashton-under-Lyne, in the Town Hall, a large working-men's meeting, attended by deputies from Manchester, Mr. W. Patten, a mechanic, in the chair.

On the same evening, a crowded meeting at the Assembly Rooms, Ashford, Mr. S. Scott, of Southborough, in the chair.

On the same evening Mr. H. Vincent lectured at Maidstone, in the Corn Exchange, Mr. Thomas Wells in the chair. The meeting was a most crowded one, and the expression of opinion in favour of the Federal Government very decided.

The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have issued No. III. of their series of Tracts on American Slavery and the Crisis. It is a reprint of two letters, signed "Anonymous," which appeared in the *Daily News*. The title of the Tract is "British Aid to the Confederates." Tract No. I., "What the South is Fighting for," is in its thirtieth thousand. The Rev. J. Curwen, of Plaistow, recently circulated, by house to house distribution, five thousand of them. The *Emancipation Society* has also received a large gratuitous supply—all mention of which, in its recent report, seems to have been omitted through oversight—which it has circulated with good results.

The *George Griswold*, Lancashire operation relief provision ship from New York, reached Liverpool on the 9th ult., and on arrival was saluted by a round of artillery. Her cargo comprised 13,236 barrels of flour, 315 boxes of bread, 50 barrels of pork, 167 bags of corn, 175 barrels of bread, 102 boxes of bacon, 3 tierces of rice, 2 bags of rice. The contributions on board from the New-York Produce Exchange were 1500 barrels of flour, 500 barrels of corn, and 500 barrels of pork. On the 16th, the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce presented an appro-

pritate address to Captain Lant, of the provision ship, as the representative of the American contributions to the Lancashire Relief Fund. The presentation took place at St. George's Hall, Mr. R. A. Macfie in the chair. The proceedings were highly interesting, and Captain Lant assured the meeting that the feelings which animated the donors were a fair expression of those of the whole American people.

On the 21st, Captain Inglefield, R.N., entertained at dinner Captain Lant, of the *George Griswold*, and the Rev. Charles Wheeler Denison, the chaplain of the vessel.

On the 26th, a monster meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, to welcome the officers of the *George Griswold*, Thomas Potter, Esq., in the chair. A very large concourse of persons having been unable to obtain access to the Hall, another meeting was held outside. At each the same resolutions against the recognition of the South, and expression of gratitude for the gifts brought by the *George Griswold*, were enthusiastically carried.

A soirée, to present an address to Mr. George Thompson, was held at the Whittington Club on Wednesday, the 25th ult., the Right Hon. Lord Teynham in the chair. The proceedings were of an especially interesting character, and we shall endeavour to present a summary of them in our next.

On Friday afternoon, the 29th ult., a deputation waited, by appointment, upon His Excellency C. F. Adams, for the purpose of presenting him with an address signed by more than 13,500 of the inhabitants of Birmingham, approving the policy of the Federal Government. The deputation was introduced by Mr. Bright, M.P., and consisted of Mr. Charles Sturge, Mr. Henry Manton, Mr. George Edmonds, Mr. James Taylor, jun., Mr. Wm. Morgan, and Mr. J. A. Partridge. We gave the text of the address in our last.

On the 5th ult. Parliament was opened, when the Queen's speech was read by the Lord Chancellor, in the absence of Her Majesty. In it a direct reference was made to the American struggle, and the policy of strict neutrality and non-interference announced as that which the Government intended to observe.

The address in the House of Lords was moved by Earl Dudley (Lord Ward) and the Earl of Granard, who both deprecated interference in the American contest. Earl Derby followed on the same side, in reply to whom Earl Russell made a speech, in the course of which he expressed the opinion "that the subjugation of the South by the North would be a great calamity." The Earl of Malmesbury supported the policy of non-intervention, but spoke against the North. Earl Grey followed on the same side.

In the House of Commons the address was moved by Mr. Calthorpe (son of Lord Calthorpe), who made a very good speech in favour of non-intervention, and, on the whole by no means adverse to the emancipation policy of the Federal Government. Mr. T. Bazley seconded the address, and spoke favourably of the efforts of the North for emancipation. Mr. D'Israeli did not oppose the address, and spoke with much indecision on the American question, like a man who does not choose to allow any one to perceive whether he held any opinion or not on the question. The address was carried.

On the 20th, Sir Lawrence Palk rose to call the attention of the House to the distress existing in the manufacturing districts, and for the appointment of a Commission to consider the best means of obtaining a permanent supply of cotton. The real purpose of the motion, however, was to obtain, by a side wind, an expression of opinion favourable to the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. The original motion went to that extent, but the originator of it subsequently struck out the words that related to this point. Mr. Gibson opposed the motion as useless, and it was withdrawn.

On the 23rd, Mr. C. Buxton called the attention of Viscount Palmerston to the sale, by the Pasha of Egypt, of a regiment of 1000 Nubians to the French, for service in Mexico. Lord Palmerston stated that a representation of the irregularity of the proceeding had been submitted to the Imperial Government.

Mr. D. Seymour called the attention of the House to the refusal of the people of Abbeokuta to receive Mr. Vice-Consul Taylor, and asked for an explanation of their conduct. Mr. Layard, in reply, stated that Government had required an apology from the chiefs of Abbeokuta, who had no grounds for their disgraceful behaviour in this particular.

On the 11th ult., the Rev. Sella Martin was welcomed back to England by a large meeting held in the Congregational Church, Plaistow, at which the Rev. B. Noel, the Rev. J. Curwen—the active minister of the chapel—and the Rev. Sella Martin, delivered highly interesting addresses.

The same evening the Lord Mayor entertained the Aldermen and the members of the Court of Common Council for the wards of Castle-Baynard, Cheap, Coleman Street, Cordwainers', Cornhill, the Cripplegates Within and Without, Dowgate and Farringdon Within, and a "select company," including Lord A. Churchill, M.P.; Lord Geo. Lennox, M.P.; Mr. Haliburton, M.P.; Mr. J. C. Ewart, M.P.; the O'Connor Don, M.P.; Mr. Kennard, M.P.; Lord Colville, General Sir George Pollock, and others, and

Mr. Mason, author of the *Fugitive Slave Law*, and agent in England for the Confederacy of slaveholders. Mr. Mason made a speech, in the course of which he stated that he had been "an honoured and a welcomed guest in every class of society since his arrival in England, and added his opinion that the day was not distant when the Southern Confederacy would be recognised by this country." The indecent conduct of the Lord Mayor, in publicly receiving the representative of a Confederation of man-stealers and man-sellers, has elicited the marked disapprobation of large assemblies throughout the country, and of the most respectable portion of the press.

The remarkable letters on the "Doctrine of Recognition," originally published in the *Times*, have been re-issued in 8vo form, by Messrs. Macmillan and Co.

A rejoinder to Mrs. Stowe's reply to the *Address from the Women of England to their Sisters in America*, has been issued from the Victoria Press, conducted by Miss Emily Faithfull. It is an admirable document.

The *Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society* has also issued a reply to Mrs. Stowe's letter, at once forcible, friendly, and conclusive, in relation to the points that lady has raised.

Mr. Peter Sinclair has published, through Mr. Job Caudwell, 355 Strand, a somewhat bulky, but most useful pamphlet, price 2s., entitled *Freedom or Slavery*. It contains a vast amount of information on the chief points involved in the American struggle. Mr. Sinclair has been a year in this country, and renders a most important service to the anti-slavery cause at this crisis, in submitting to the public the mass of facts he industriously collated during a sojourn of four years and a half in the United States. His pamphlet is most conclusive, and should be in the hands of every one.

On the 17th ultimo, His Excellency C. F. Adams, United-States' Minister in London, and Mr. Gerard Ralston, Consul-General for Liberia, exchanged the ratifications of a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation, on behalf of their respective governments. The treaty is superbly bound in silver and purple, and enclosed in a handsome black walnut-wood case, ornamented in filagree, in silver, with the insignia of the two nations embossed in the same metal on the outside.

AFRICA.—In his message to the Legislature, the President of LIBERIA refers to a recent attempt which had been made in the Gallinas territory, by the captain of the Spanish slaver *Bueneventura Cubana*—seized by the Liberian man-of war *Quail* in June 1861, and afterwards taken from her by H. M. S. *Torch*—to obtain the slaves bought with the cargo of the slaver. The attempt was frustrated through the activity of the

Liberian authorities. He states that the question of the jurisdiction of Liberia over the Gallinas is in course of settlement with Her Majesty's Government.

Commodore Eardley Wilmot had gone to Dahomey, on a visit to the King; and the report was that he had been received with great respect.

FRANCE.—During the recent debate in the *Corps Legislatif*, Viscount Anatoli Lemerrier declared that the recognition of the Confederacy of Southern slaveholders would be a calamity to humanity at large, and to the best interests of France. He said it ought to be distinctly understood by the South that France never can acknowledge it as an independent State.

SPAIN.—The O'Donnell Ministry has resigned, and its resignation has been accepted by the Queen. O'Donnell was Captain-General of Cuba, and favoured the continuance of the African slave-trade.

WEST INDIES.—Our West-India files, still exceedingly imperfect, are almost barren of news. The papers, generally, are discussing the prospective advantages which the colonies would derive from the introduction of freed negroes from the United States. The Coolie immigration—whether from India or from China—does not appear to satisfy the requirements of the planters, notwithstanding their organs express satisfaction at the extension of the term of indenture to five years instead of three. We are, ourselves, exceedingly doubtful respecting the working of the immigration system, and are far from satisfied that the immigrants are uniformly treated properly. In our last we referred to the condition of many of those who have been taken to JAMAICA; and this month we find, in the *Creole* of the 22nd December, a statement which throws considerable light upon the treatment of Chinese in BRITISH GUIANA. One of this class of labourers, named Yu Kum Sin, belonging to the Versailles estate, on the west bank of the Demerara river, had been discharged, as convalescent, from the hospital. On returning to the estate, he was set to do some light work, and, while engaged on it, was most severely flogged by one Rose Glasgow, the woman driver, by order of the manager, one George Porter. He was taken back to hospital the same evening, but died in the morning. The dispenser in the hospital, one G. R. Simpson, was ordered by the manager to have the remains interred; but Mr. Simpson refused, and requested the advice of Mr. Fleming, Stipendiary Magistrate, who approved of his course, took down his deposition, and ordered an inquest. The jury returned a verdict of "natural death," though "the doctor's" evidence went to shew that Yu Kum Sin had disease of the heart, and that his death had been accele-

rated by excitement, such as a beating would cause. The dispenser to the hospital was almost immediately dismissed. He has, it seems, alleged that the people brought into the hospital do not receive proper treatment, and that the man Porter is in the habit of causing the labourers under him to be flogged by the woman driver. An attempt was made to hush up the whole matter, but an inquiry was instituted, and Porter pleaded guilty to eleven distinct charges of "assault and battery." He was fined 280 dollars, including costs; but we do not learn that the dispenser to the hospital has been reinstated in his office. Porter was, some time ago, nearly murdered by his Coolie gang, on account of his ill-treatment of them.

There had been two arrivals of immigrants during the fortnight ending 6th February. The *Clarence*, from Calcutta, had a passage of 74 days, brought 430 immigrants, viz. 303 males, 87 females, and 30 children, and had 12 deaths on the voyage. The *Commodore Perry*, of 2000 tons burden, had a passage of 102 days from Calcutta, and brought 436 people, equal to 420 statute adults. There were 31 deaths on the voyage.

The Immigration Agent-General's annual returns had been published. The total number of immigrants of all classes introduced during the year, was 8801, as follows: 4601 Calcutta coolies, of whom 3344 were men, 818 women, and the remainder boys, girls, and infants; 1023 Madras coolies, of whom 543 were men, and 241 women, &c.; 2590 Chinese, of whom 2079 were men, and 457 women, &c.; 558 Africans, of whom 381 were men, and 51 women, &c.; 29 Madeirians, of whom 13 were men, and 9 women, &c. The number of immigrants of all classes introduced from the 1st January 1835 to 31st December 1862 is estimated at 107,819. The entire population of the country in 1831 was 100,536. This, without natural increase, ought to give a population, at the present day, of 207,355, or, deducting the entire number of last year's importations, 193,554 in 1861, when the census was taken. The number shewn by the census is 156,000, leaving 42,500 to be accounted for.

UNITED STATES. — *Congressional*. — The House of Representatives has passed a Bill to arm negroes by a vote of eighty-three to fifty-four. The Bill provides that the President may arm such numbers as he may deem necessary. No slaves of loyal owners are to be thus employed. No recruiting offices are to be opened in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, or Tennessee, without the permission of the governors of those States.

Mr. Sumner had also introduced a Bill into the Senate to enrol 300,000 negro soldiers.

Bills had been prepared, and only awaited

an opportunity to be reported from the Select Committee on Emancipation, appropriating 10,000,000 dollars for the abolition of Slavery in Maryland, 1,500,000 dollars for the same object in Western Virginia, and 450,000 dollars for Delaware. The same Committee had also agreed upon a Bill to establish a board of emigration and colonization in connection with the War Department.

Twenty-six Republican members of the Senate, forming a clear majority of that body, had presented a Memorial to the President, expressing a want of confidence in the Administration. They assert that the President is not aided by a Cabinet Council agreeing with him in political principles and general policy, and urge that he make such changes as will secure a unity of purpose and action. They also admonish him that it is unwise and unsafe to entrust any important military operation to any officer who is not a cordial supporter of the Government.

The Republican candidate, ex-Governor Morgan, has been elected United-States' Senator from New York.

The inaugural address of the Governor of Delaware expresses strong Union and emancipation sentiments, and favours a vigorous prosecution of the war.

A resolution has been introduced in the New Jersey Legislature, proposing an armistice and a convention for discussing the terms of an amicable settlement between North and South.

The Governor of Jersey, in his message to the Legislature, denounces the Emancipation Proclamation and the illegal arrests, and recommends peace upon the basis of the union of the States with their equality and rights unimpaired.

The New-York Legislature has passed a resolution, declaring President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation to be justifiable as a war measure.

The New-York Chamber of Commerce has passed resolutions expressing confidence in the Government, and pledging its co-operation in quelling the rebellion.

Resolutions approving the President's Emancipation Proclamation have passed both Houses of the California Legislature, eight Senators and eleven members of the Assembly voting against them.

Rebeldom. — A Bill has been introduced in the Confederate Senate to enrol as conscripts all males between eighteen and forty-five in Government employ who do not belong to the army or navy, their places to be supplied by persons not liable to military duty.

Two proposals for holding a peace convention are before the Indiana Legislature. One proposes, that if Congress call a national

convention, Indiana shall invite all the Federal and Confederate States to meet delegates from Indiana at Nashville in June next.

THE WAR.—Although some great movements against the rebels are impending, up to the latest dates nothing decisive had occurred. The Federals were concentrating their forces for an attack upon Fort Hudson and Vicksburg, on the Mississippi, and against Charleston. Two expeditions, one by land and another by sea, were being directed against the latter. The Federal General, M'Clelland, expected to overcome Vicksburg by completing the canal commenced by General Williams last year, so as to allow of the passage of gunboats. Vicksburg letters say that the largest possible force will be kept at work night and day upon it until it is completed. It must be wholly cut the required width and depth, it having been demonstrated that no reliance can be placed on the action of the water in washing it out. Some weeks must elapse before the completion of the work.

After the battle of Vicksburg the Federal gunboats proceeded up the Arkansas River, and assailed Arkansas post, 100 miles from its mouth. The post was defended by 7000 men, who surrendered unconditionally, after a sharp struggle, and a loss of 550 killed and wounded. The Federal loss is reported at 200 killed and wounded.

Despatches from Colonel Crabb, at Springfield, Missouri, state that the Confederates had been repulsed in their attack upon the town, and retired, leaving a portion of their killed and wounded on the field.

Latest despatches from Vicksburg state that the Federal ram *Queen of the West* ran the blockade at Vicksburg on the 2d February. One hundred Confederate guns opened fire upon her as she steamed past. A Confederate steamer also opened fire on her, but the *Queen of the West* crippled her. The ram was under fire three-quarters of an hour.

On the 31st January, at one in the morning, and favoured by a dense fog, two Confederate iron-clad gunboats and three steamers attacked the blockading squadron off Charleston. The Confederate force crippled the *Mercedita*, but she was afterwards got away, and disabled another Federal gunboat, as well as the steamer *Quaker City*, but this latter escaped. General Beauregard immediately declared the blockade to be raised, but the Federal fleet had not been dispersed, nor had it suffered material damage. The blockade continued to be enforced rigorously at the date of the latest advices. The whole exploit—though a bold and dashing one—

had been purposely greatly exaggerated by the Confederates.

In North Carolina, the Federals under General Foster had made no general forward movement. Land forces were, however, being sent forward towards the railroad, and they had encountered 1300 Confederates at Pollocksville. An engagement ensued, in which the Confederates were driven back. The Federals captured a flag.

The Confederate steamer *Alabama*, after a sharp engagement, had sunk the Federal gunboat *Hatteras* off Galveston.

The Federal gunboats had had engagements at Bayouche, Louisiana. The Federal commander was killed. No Confederates were captured.

On the 5th February, Wheeler, Forrest, Wharton, and Woodward, Confederate Generals, attacked Fort Donnellson with 4000 men and eight pieces of artillery. The Federals had 800 men in the fort, under Colonel A. L. Harding. The rebels charged upon the fortifications several times, but were repulsed with great loss. The enemy before and after the fight demanded a surrender, and offering to spare life if accepted. Colonel Harding replied that he was ready for all the consequences. The enemy's loss in killed was over 100, and 300 prisoners. Colonel Lowe, from Fort Henry, was sent in pursuit. The Federal loss was twelve killed and thirty wounded.

General Burnside had resigned the command of the army of the Potomac, and Gen. Hooker has been appointed his successor. Generals Franklin and Sumner had also been relieved of their commands. General Burnside's letter of resignation says that the army would, under more favourable circumstances, have accomplished great results.

The Blockade.—At Nassau, New Providence, on the 19th of January, looking out for an opportunity of running the blockade, were reported the Anglo-Confederate steamers No. 1, *Gladiator*; No. 2, *Douro*; No. 3, *Flora*.

The United-States gunboat *Tioga*, Captain Cleary, had captured off the Bahamas the British steamer *Pearl*, an ironside-wheel light-draft steamer, of 170 tons burden. Her cargo consisted of "pea jackets." This steamer was purchased by the Confederate States' agent in England. Information had been received at the Navy Department that the United-States steamer *Octorara* captured, on the 16th January, the English sloop *Brave*, of about nine tons, from Nassau, with 110 sacks of salt and three bales of sponge; also the British steam propeller, *Princess Royal*, Captain Lawson, while attempting to run the blockade into Charleston. At the time of the departure

of the *Princess Royal* from Halifax for Bermuda, Northern papers announced the fact, and gave a description of the vessel and cargo. The Federal cruisers were therefore on the look-out for her, and as she was making her way in before daylight, she was suddenly surrounded, and her officers were compelled to run her on Long-Island beach, where she was captured. The *Princess Royal* had on board a most valuable cargo, consisting of eight Whitworth guns, four steam-engines for gunboats, rifles, powder, &c. The bulk of the freight was about 400 tons. A party of English workmen, skilled in the manufacture of projectiles, were captured with the vessel. The pilot and two or three of the crew escaped in boats, and reached Charleston. Important despatches from Captain Maury to the Government were saved. A letter, dated Washington, February 2, says, "The *Princess Royal*, captured off Charleston, had on board 600 barrels of gunpowder, two Armstrong guns, a large lot of machinery, 880 bales of sheet iron, 500 boxes of tin, one steam bakery, 144 bales of hardware, 95 cases of boots, 229 bags of coffee, and other valuables."

The British steamers *Rising Dawn* and *Antonia* had also been captured, but another British steamer, name unknown, had successfully run the blockade into a Southern port.

Miscellaneous. — When General Butler took command of New Orleans, the French and English residents, though naturalized, were anxious to shew their national origin, so as to escape the emancipation of their slaves. General Butler waited till they had all registered themselves, and then informed every Frenchman that the *code civile* of his own country expressly forbids a Frenchman to hold a slave; and every Englishman that, by British law, every subject of that country holding a slave, is subject to a penalty of 500 dollars for each. He left but a few slaves, though many negroes in his department.

The slaves throughout Mississippi are fleeing in every direction; those that remain refuse to work, and are only kept from open demonstration by a promise, on the part of their masters, to pay them for their labour.

In St. Louis, Judge Claver, of the Criminal Court, has recently pronounced a decision affirming the constitutionality and validity of the Emancipation Proclamation. A negro, named Benjamin Williams, was convicted of grand larceny. By the law of Missouri a slave, convicted of such an offence, is punishable with stripes instead of imprisonment in the Penitentiary; and the question was raised what the legal *status* of this individual culprit was. The name of the prisoner is Benjamin Douglass, and he escaped from

his master, a rebel residing in the State of Mississippi some three months ago, and went to St. Louis. There, subsequent to the 1st January 1863, he committed the offence of which he was convicted. The prisoner's counsel attempted to shew that his client was a slave, and could not therefore be subjected to imprisonment; while the prosecuting attorney maintained that he was a free man by virtue of the President's Proclamation—Judge Claver decided that the man was made free by the President's proclamation, which he justified by an elaborate argument as a legal and constitutional exercise of the war power—and condemned the culprit to a term of imprisonment.

On the 13th and the 15th of January two large meetings were held at New Orleans; one in the Lyceum, at the top of the City-Hall building, on the occasion of Governor Hamilton's address to the Unionists of New Orleans; the second in the St. Charles' Theatre, on the great questions of the day. A large number of slaveowners were present, many of them holding "property in negroes," ranging from 10,000 to 80,000 dollars. Resolutions were unanimously passed, asserting the integrity of the Government, and a readiness to support it in all measures for the suppression of the rebellion; also approving "the President's Proclamation of the 1st January as an act of justice to one class, and as inflicting upon another, persisting in rebellion, the blow best calculated to reduce them to obedience."

General Milroy had just issued a notice, dated Winchester (Va.), July 5th, announcing his intention to enforce the Emancipation Proclamation in Frederick county, calling upon the citizens to obey it under penalty of being treated as rebels, and admonishing the "persons liberated by the Proclamation to abstain from violence, and to betake themselves to useful occupations."

The Federal Colonel Clusseret writes that he had posted the Emancipation Proclamation on the walls of Winchester, and scattered it among the farms in Virginia. The Proclamation was depopulating the region between the Rappahannock and the Potomac of slaves.

The *Richmond Inquirer* thinks that the Emancipation Proclamation, in its effects upon the rebellion or the slaves, is not worth the paper on which it is printed.

Mr. Wise, of the firm of Walker, Wise, and Co., of Boston, had had interviews with President Lincoln and numerous prominent men, to whom he had presented copies of the edition of M. Aug. Cochins "Results of Emancipation," translated from the French, just published by his house. This work is already regarded as a standard authority on the great question of the day, and large numbers of copies have been ordered by the

Departments and at the Capitol, as works of reference. It has even been proposed to have an edition published for general distribution, so important is the information which could thus be sent over the land. In the Border States, especially, there is a great want of information on this subject, and it is considered that the circulation of Monsieur Cochin's work will be highly beneficial.

The Hon. Charles Sumner was re-elected, by an overwhelming majority, to the United-States' Senate, on the 15th January ult., for six years from the 4th of March.

General Butler had had an enthusiastic reception in Boston. He stated that his plan for paying the war debt was the introduction of free labour into the South, by which abundant crops of cotton could be produced with profit at 10 cents per pound. He proposed to lay on this a tax of 10 cents., thus raising the price to 20 cents per pound, which France and England would be obliged to pay. This tax alone, he said, would pay the interest on a debt three times as large as has been contracted for the prosecution of the war. It is reported that he will shortly be sent back to New Orleans, and release General Banks for operations in Texas.

The *Richmond Dispatch* warns the Democrats and Conservatives of the North to dismiss from their minds the delusion that the South will ever consent upon any terms to re-enter the Union, and says, that if the North allowed the South to write a constitution, and gave every guarantee, the South would prefer the Government of England or France to re-entering the Union.

Dr. Lyman Beecher, father of Mrs. H. B. Stowe, died at Brooklyn, at the age of 87, on the 10th of January ultimo.

The *Washington National Intelligencer* of the 17th January, publishes eight columns of intercepted rebel despatches, being letters of instruction to Mason and Slidell, and other rebel agents in Europe. The first is a letter from Secretary Benjamin, dated in September last, exaggerating all the rebel victories, and summing up the Federal losses in all the battles up to that time at 350,000 men. The most important portion of the correspondence relates to a movement on the part of the French Consuls at Galveston and Richmond, supposed to have originated in Paris, to induce Texas to secede from the Southern Confederacy, and establish an independent government. The result of this discovery was an order to Magruder to send the Consul at Galveston to Mexico as soon as possible, and the Richmond Consul to leave forthwith. The order, however, with regard to the latter, was rescinded. It further appears that the reception awarded by Earl Russell to Mr. Commissioner Mason at London was not such as comports with the latter's sense of propriety, or with the ex-

pectations of the Confederate authorities at Richmond. Mr. Mason, however, is complimented for his self-abnegation in consenting to remain at his post, notwithstanding the annoyances he conceives himself subjected to by the evident coolness of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs. The second portion of this correspondence relates to the European operations of the Confederate Treasury and Navy department.

A letter from Young's Point, Louisiana, states, that at Chicot Bend several negroes who had visited the Federal boats at another point three weeks before had been executed. On New-Year's day, when the steamboat *Tigress* was bound down the river, it stopped to get some wood on Mr. Moore's plantation. Several negroes appeared on the bank mounted on mules. It seems that when Mr. Moore had seen the steamboat coming, he had sent the negroes off to the woods; but instead of going to the woods, they rode round to the river to the steamboat. These negroes had, for that offence, since been hanged by the neighbours. It was also said, that a few days before, when one of the Federal steamboats was passing, some negroes came out on the bank and hailed her; but the steamboat passed on without taking them on board. Next day some planters, who had seen them from the other side, came across the river and hanged them.

A REPLY

TO "THE AFFECTIONATE AND CHRISTIAN ADDRESS OF MANY THOUSANDS OF WOMEN OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, TO THEIR SISTERS, THE WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA."

Signed by—

ANNA MARIA BEDFORD (*Duchess of Bedford*); OLIVIA CECILIA COWLEY (*Countess Cowley*); CONSTANCE GROSVENOR (*Countess Grosvenor*); HARRIET SUTHERLAND (*Duchess of Sutherland*); ELIZABETH ARGYLL (*Duchess of Argyll*); ELIZABETH FORTESCUE (*Countess Fortescue*); EMILY SHAFESBURY (*Countess of Shaftesbury*); MARY RUTHVEN (*Baroness Ruthven*); M. A. MILMAN (*Wife of the Dean of St. Paul's*); R. BUXTON (*Daughter of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton*); CAROLINE AMELIA OWEN (*Wife of Professor Owen*); MRS. CHARLES WINDHAM; C. A. HATHERTON (*Baroness Hatherton*); ELIZABETH DUCIE (*Countess Dowager of Ducie*); CECILIA PARKE (*Wife of Baron Parke*); MARY ANN CHALLIS (*Wife of the Lord Mayor of London*); E. GORDON (*Duchess Dowager of Gordon*); ANNA M. L. MELVILLE (*Daughter of Earl Leven and Melville*); GEORGIANA EBRINGTON (*Lady Ebrington*); A. HILL (*Viscountess Hill*); MRS. GOBAT (*Wife of Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem*); E. PALMERSTON (*Viscountess Palmerston*); and others.

SISTERS,—

More than eight years ago, you sent to us in

America a document with the above heading. It is as follows:

"A common origin, a common faith, and, we sincerely believe, a common cause, urge us, at the present moment, to address you on the subject of that system of negro Slavery which still prevails so extensively, and, even under kindly-disposed masters, with such frightful results, in many of the vast regions of the Western world.

"We will not dwell on the ordinary topics—on the progress of civilization—on the advance of freedom everywhere—on the rights and requirements of the nineteenth century; but we appeal to you very seriously to reflect and to ask counsel of God how far such a state of things is in accordance with his holy word, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion. We do not shut our eyes to the difficulties, nay, the dangers, that might beset the immediate abolition of that long-established system. We see and admit the necessity of preparation for so great an event; but, in speaking of indispensable preliminaries, we cannot be silent on those laws of your country which, in direct contravention of God's own law, 'instituted in the time of man's innocence,' deny in effect to the slave the sanctity of marriage, with all its joys, rights and obligations; which separate, at the will of the master, the wife from the husband and the children from the parents. Nor can we be silent on that awful system which, either by statute or by custom, interdicts to any race of man, or any portion of the human family, education in the truths of the Gospel and the ordinances of Christianity. A remedy applied to these two evils alone would commence the amelioration of their sad condition. We appeal to you, then, as sisters, as wives, and as mothers, to raise your voices to your fellow-citizens, and your prayers to God, for the removal of this affliction and disgrace from the Christian world.

"We do not say these things in a spirit of self-complacency, as though our nation were free from the guilt it perceives in others.

"We acknowledge with grief and shame our heavy share in this great sin. We acknowledge that our forefathers introduced, nay, compelled the adoption of Slavery in those mighty colonies. We humbly confess it before Almighty God; and it is because we so deeply feel and so unfeignedly avow our own complicity, that we now venture to implore your aid to wipe away our common dishonour."

This address, splendidly illustrated on vellum, was sent to our shores, at the head of twenty-six folio volumes, containing considerably more than half a million of signatures of British women. It was forwarded to me with a letter from a British nobleman now occupying one of the highest official positions in England, with a request on behalf of these ladies that it should be, in any possible way, presented to the attention of my countrywomen.

This Memorial, as it now stands in its solid oaken case, with its heavy folios, each bearing on its back the imprint of the American eagle, forms a most unique library, a singular monument of an international expression of a moral idea.

No right-thinking person can find aught to be objected against the substance or the form of this Memorial. It is temperate, just, and kindly, and

on the high ground of Christian equality, where it places itself, may be regarded as a perfectly proper expression of sentiment, as between blood-relations and equals in two different nations.

The signatures to this appeal are not the least remarkable part of it; for, beginning at the very steps of the throne, they go down to the names of women in the very humblest conditions of life, and represent all that Great Britain possesses, not only of highest and wisest, but of plain, homely common sense and good feeling. Names of wives of cabinet-ministers appear on the same page with the names of wives of humble labourers,—names of duchesses and countesses, of wives of generals, ambassadors, savans, and men of letters, mingled with names traced in trembling characters by hands evidently unused to hold the pen, and stiffened by lowly toil. Nay, so deep and expansive was the feeling, that British subjects in foreign lands had their representations. Among the signatures of those of foreign residents from Paris to Jerusalem. Autographs so diverse, and collected from sources so various, have seldom been found in juxtaposition. They remain at this day a silent witness of a most singular tide of feeling, which at that time swept over the British community, and made for itself an expression, even at the risk of offending the sensibilities of an equal and powerful nation.

No reply to that address, in any such tangible and monumental form, has ever been possible. It was impossible to canvass our vast territories with the zealous and indefatigable industry with which England was canvassed for signatures. In America, those possessed of the spirit which led to this efficient action had no leisure for it. All their time and energies were already absorbed in direct efforts to remove the great evil, concerning which the minds of their English sisters had been newly aroused, and their only answer was the silent continuance of these efforts.

From the slaveholding States, however, as was to be expected, came a flood of indignant re- crimination and rebuke. No one act, perhaps, ever produced more frantic irritation, or called out more unsparing abuse. It came with the whole united weight of the British aristocracy and commonalty on the most diseased and sensitive part of our national life; and it stimulated that fierce excitement which was working before, and has worked since, till it has broken out into open war.

The time has come, however, when such an astonishing page has been turned in the anti-slavery history of America, that the women of our country, feeling that the great anti-slavery work to which their English sisters exhorted them is almost done, may properly and naturally feel moved to reply to their appeal, and lay before them the history of what has occurred since the receipt of their affectionate and Christian address.

Your address reached us just as a great moral conflict was coming to its intensest point.

The agitation kept up by the anti-slavery portion of America, by England, and by the general sentiment of humanity in Europe, had made the situation of the slaveholding aristocracy intolerable. As one of them at the time expressed it, they felt themselves under the ban of the civilized world. Two courses only were open

to them: to abandon slave institutions, the sources of their wealth and political power; or to assert them with such an overwhelming national force as to compel the respect and assent of mankind. They chose the latter.

To this end they determined to seize on and control all the resources of the Federal Government, and to spread their institutions through new States and Territories, until the balance of power should fall into their hands, and they should be able to force Slavery into all the Free States.

A leading Southern senator boasted that he would yet call the roll of his slaves on Bunker Hill; and, for a while, the political successes of the Slave Power were such as to suggest to New England that this was no impossible event.

They repealed the Missouri Compromise, which had hitherto stood, like the Chinese wall, between our North-western Territories and the irruptions of slaveholding barbarians.

Then came the struggle between Freedom and Slavery in the new Territory—the battle for Kansas and Nebraska, fought with fire and sword and blood, where a race of men, of whom John Brown was the immortal type, acted over again the courage, the perseverance, and the military religious ardour of the old Covenanters of Scotland, and, like them, redeemed the Ark of Liberty at the price of their own blood, and blood dearer than their own.

The time of the Presidential canvass, which elected Mr. Lincoln, was the crisis of this great battle. The conflict had become narrowed down to the one point of the extension of slave-territory. If the slaveholders could get States enough, they could control and rule; if they were outnumbered by Free States, their institutions, by the very law of their nature, would die of suffocation. Therefore, Fugitive-Slave Law, District of Columbia, Inter-State Slave-Trade, and what not, were all thrown out of sight for a grand rally in this vital point. A President was elected, pledged to opposition to this one thing alone,—a man known to be in favour of the Fugitive-Slave Law and other so-called compromises of the Constitution, but honest and faithful in his determination on this one subject. That this was indeed the vital point was shewn by the result. The moment Lincoln's election was ascertained, the slaveholders resolved to destroy the Union they could no longer control.

They met and organized a Confederacy which they openly declared to be the first Republic founded on the right and determination of the white man to enslave the black man; and, spreading their banners, declared themselves to the Christian world of the nineteenth century as a nation organized with the full purpose and intent of perpetuating Slavery.

But in the course of the struggle that followed, it became important for the new Confederation to secure the assistance of foreign powers, and infinite pains were then taken to blind and bewilder the mind of England as to the real issues of the conflict in America.

It has been often and earnestly asserted that Slavery had nothing to do with the conflict; that it was a mere struggle for power; that the only object was to restore the Union as it was, with all its abuses. It is to be admitted that

expressions have proceeded from the National Administration, which naturally gave rise to misapprehension, and therefore we beg to speak to you on this subject more fully.

And, first, the declaration of the Confederate States themselves is proof enough, that, whatever may be declared on the other side, the maintenance of Slavery is regarded by them as the vital object of their movement.

We ask your attention under this head to the declaration of their Vice-President, Stephens, in that remarkable speech, delivered on the 21st of March 1861, at Savannah, Georgia, wherein he declares the object and purposes of the new Confederacy. It is one of the most extraordinary papers which our century has produced. I quote from the *verbatim* report in the *Savannah Republican* of the address as it was delivered in the Athenæum of that city, on which occasion, says the newspaper from which I copy, "Mr. Stephens took his seat amid a burst of enthusiasm and applause, such as the Athenæum has never had displayed within its walls within 'the recollection of the oldest inhabitant.'"

"Last, not least, the new Constitution has put at rest for ever all the agitating questions relating to our peculiar institution,—African Slavery, as it exists among us, the proper status of the negro in our form of civilization. *This was the immediate cause of the late rupture and present revolution.* Jefferson, in his forecast, had anticipated this, as the 'rock upon which the old Union would split.' He was right. What was conjecture with him is now a realized fact. But whether he fully comprehended the great truth upon which that rock stood and stands may be doubted. *The prevailing ideas entertained by him, and most of the leading statesmen, at the time of the formation of the old Constitution were, that the enslavement of the African was in violation of the laws of Nature, that it was wrong in principle, socially, morally, and politically.* It was an evil they knew not well how to deal with; but the general opinion of the men of that day was, that, somehow or other, in the order of Providence, the institution would be evanescent, and pass away. This idea, though not incorporated in the Constitution, was the prevailing idea at the time. The Constitution, it is true, secured every essential guaranty to the institution, while it should last; and hence no argument can be justly used against the constitutional guaranties thus secured, because of the common sentiment of the day. *Those ideas, however, were fundamentally wrong. They rested upon the assumption of the equality of races. This was an error.* It was a sandy foundation; and the idea of a Government built upon it—when 'the storm came, and the wind blew, it fell.'

"Our new Government is founded upon exactly the opposite ideas: its foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery, subordination to the superior race, is his natural and moral condition. (Applause.) *This our new Government is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.*

"This truth has been slow in the process of its development, like all other truths in the various departments of science. It is so even

amongst us. Many who hear me, perhaps, can recollect well that this truth was not generally admitted, even within their day. The errors of the past generation still clung to many as late as twenty years ago. Those at the North who still cling to these errors with a zeal above knowledge we justly denominate fanatics. All fanaticism springs from an aberration of the mind, from a defect in reasoning. It is a species of insanity. One of the most striking characteristics of insanity, in many instances, is forming correct conclusions from fancied or erroneous premises. So with the *anti-slavery* fanatics: their conclusions are right, if their premises are. They assume that the negro is equal, and hence conclude that he is entitled to equal privileges and rights with the white man. If their premises were correct, their conclusions would be logical and just; but their premises being wrong, their whole argument fails.

"In the conflict thus far, success has been on our side complete, throughout the length and breadth of the Confederate States. It is upon this, as I have stated, our social fabric is firmly planted; and I cannot permit myself to doubt the ultimate success of a full recognition of this principle throughout the civilized and enlightened world.

"As I have stated, the truth of this principle may be slow in development, as all truths are, and ever have been, in the various branches of science. It was so with the principles announced by Galileo; it was so with Adam Smith and his principles of political economy; it was so with Harvey in his theory of the circulation of the blood. It is said that not a single one of the medical profession, at the time of the announcement of the truths made by him, admitted them; now they are universally acknowledged. May we not, therefore, look with confidence to the ultimate universal acknowledgment of the truths upon which our system rests? It is the first government ever instituted upon principles in strict conformity to nature and the ordination of Providence in furnishing the material of human society. Many governments have been founded upon the principles of certain classes; but the classes thus enslaved were of the same race and in violation of the laws of nature. Our system commits no such violation of nature's laws. The negro, by nature, or by the curse against Canaan, is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system. The architect, in the construction of buildings, lays the foundation with the proper material—the granite; then comes the brick or marble. The substratum of our society is made of the material fitted by nature for it; and by experience we know that it is best not only for the superior, but the inferior race, that it should be so. It is, indeed, in conformity with the Creator. It is not safe for us to inquire into the wisdom of his ordinances, or to question them. For his own purposes He has made one race to differ from another, as one star differeth from another in glory. The great objects of humanity are best attained when conformed to his laws and decrees in the formation of government as well as in all things else. Our Confederacy is founded on a strict conformity with those laws. *This*

stone, which was rejected by the first builders, has become the chief stone of the corner in our new edifice!

Thus far the declarations of the slaveholding Confederacy.

On the other hand, the declarations of the President and Republican party, as to their intention to restore "the Union as it was," require an explanation. It is the doctrine of the Republican party, that Freedom is national and Slavery sectional; that the Constitution of the United States was designed for the promotion of liberty, and not of Slavery; that its framers contemplated the gradual abolition of Slavery; and that in the hands of an anti-slavery majority it could be so wielded as peaceably to extinguish this great evil.

They reasoned thus. Slavery ruins land, and requires fresh territory for profitable working. Slavery increases a dangerous population, and requires an expansion of this population for safety. Slavery, then, being hemmed in by impassable limits, emancipation in each State becomes a necessity.

By restoring the Union as it was, the Republican party meant the Union in the sense contemplated by the original framers of it, who, as has been admitted by Stephens, in his speech just quoted, were from principle opposed to Slavery. It was, then, restoring a *status* in which, by the inevitable operation of natural laws, peaceful emancipation would become a certainty.

In the meanwhile, during the past year, the Republican Administration, with all the unwonted care of organizing an army and navy, and conducting military operations on an immense scale, having proceeded to demonstrate the feasibility of overthrowing Slavery by purely constitutional measures. To this end they have instituted a series of movements which have made this year more fruitful in anti-slavery triumphs than any other since the emancipation of the British West Indies.

The district of Columbia, as belonging strictly to the National Government, and to no separate State, has furnished a fruitful subject of remonstrance from British Christians with America. We have abolished Slavery there, and thus wiped out the only blot of territorial responsibility on our escutcheon.

By another act, equally grand in principle, and far more important in its results, Slavery is for ever excluded from the Territories of the United States.

By another act, America has consummated the long-delayed treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave-trade. In ports whence slave vessels formerly sailed with the connivance of the port-officers, the Administration has placed men who stand up to their duty, and for the first time in our history the slave-trader is convicted and hung as a pirate. This abominable secret traffic has been wholly demolished by the energy of the Federal Government.

Lastly, and more significant still, the United States Government has in its highest official capacity taken distinct anti-slavery ground, and presented to the country a plan of peaceable emancipation with suitable compensation. This noble-spirited and generous offer has been urged

on the slaveholding States by the Chief Executive with an earnestness and sincerity of which history in after-times will make honourable account in recording the events of Mr. Lincoln's administration.

Now, when a President and Administration who have done all these things declare their intention of restoring "*the Union as it was*," ought not the world fairly to interpret their words by their actions and their avowed principles? Is it not necessary to infer that they mean by it the Union as it was in the intent of its anti-slavery framers, under which, by the exercise of normal constitutional powers, Slavery should be peaceably abolished?

We are aware that this theory of the Constitution has been disputed by certain Abolitionists; but it is conceded, as you have seen, by the Secessionists. Whether it be a just theory or not is, however, nothing to our purpose at present. We only assert that such is the professed belief of the present Administration of the United States, and such are the acts by which they have illustrated their belief.

But this is but half the story of the anti-slavery triumphs of this year. We have shewn you what has been done for freedom by the simple use of the ordinary constitutional forces of the Union. We are now to shew you what has been done to the same end by the constitutional war-power of the nation.

By this power it has been this year decreed that every slave of a rebel who reaches the lines of our army becomes a free man; that all slaves found deserted by their masters become free men; that every slave employed in any service for the United States thereby obtains his liberty; and that every slave employed against the United States in any capacity obtains his liberty; and lest the army should contain officers disposed to remand slaves to their masters, the power of judging and delivering up slaves is denied to army-officers, and all such acts are made penal.

By this act the Fugitive-Slave Law is, for all present purposes, practically repealed. With this understanding and provision, wherever our armies march, they carry liberty with them. For, be it remembered that our army is almost entirely a volunteer one, and that the most zealous and ardent volunteers are those who have been for years fighting with tongue and pen the Abolition battle. So marked is the character of our soldiers in this respect that they are now familiarly designated in the official military despatches of the Confederate States as "The Abolitionists." Conceive the results when an army, so empowered by national law, marches through a slave-territory. One regiment alone has, to our certain knowledge liberated two thousand slaves during the past year, and this regiment is but one out of hundreds. We beg to lay before you some details given by an eye-witness of what has recently been done in this respect in the Department of the South.

"On Board Steamer from Fortress Monroe to Baltimore, Nov. 14, 1862.

"Events of no ordinary interest have just occurred in the Department of the South. The negro troops have been tested, and, to their great joy, though not contrary to their own expecta-

tions, they have triumphed, not only over enemies armed with muskets and swords, but over what the black man dreads most, sharp and cruel prejudices.

"General Saxton, on the 28th of October, sent the captured steamer *Darlington*, Captain Crandell, down the coast of Georgia, and to Fernandina, Florida, to obtain recruits for the First Regiment South-Carolina Volunteers. Lieutenant-Colonel O. T. Beard, of the 48th New-York Volunteers, was given the command of the expedition. In addition to obtaining recruits, the condition and wants of the recent refugees from Slavery along the coast were to be looked into, and, if occasion should offer, it was permitted to 'feel the enemy.' At St. Simond's, Georgia, Captain Trowbridge, with thirty-five men of the 'Hunter Regiment of First South-Carolina Volunteers,' who had been stationed there for three months, together with twenty-seven more men, were received on board. With this company of sixty-two men the *Darlington* proceeded to Fernandina.

"On arriving, a meeting of the coloured men was called to obtain enlistments. The large church was crowded. After addresses had been made by the writer and Colonel Beard, 100 men volunteered at once, and the number soon reached about 125. Such, however, were the demands of Fort Clinch and the Quartermaster's Department for labourers, that Colonel Rich, commanding the fort, consented to only twenty-five men leaving. This was a sad disappointment, and one which some determined not to bear. The twenty-five men were carefully selected from among those not employed either on the fort or in the Quartermaster's Department, and put on board. Amid the farewells and benedictions of hundreds of their friends on shore they took their departure, to prove the truth or falsity of the charge, 'The black man can never fight.' On calling the roll, a few miles from port, it was found our twenty-five men had increased to fifty-four. Determined not to be foiled in their purpose of being soldiers, it was found that thirty men had quietly found their way on board just at break of day, and had concealed themselves in the hold of the ship. When asked why they did so, their reply was:

"'Oh, we want to fight for our liberty, and for de liberty of our wives and children.'

"'But would you dare to face your old masters?'

"'Oh, yes, yes! Why, we would fight to de death to get our families,' was the quick response.

"No one doubted their sincerity. Muskets were soon in their hands, and no time was lost in drilling them. Our steamer, a very frail one, had been barricaded around the bow and stern, and also provided with two twelve-pounder Parrott guns. These guns had to be worked by black men, under the direction of the captain of the steamer. Our fighting men numbered only about 110, and fifty of them were raw recruits. The expedition was not a very formidable one, still all seemed to have an unusual degree of confidence as to its success.

"Nov. 6—The women and children (about fifty) taken from St. Simond's on the day previous were now landed for safety in St. Cath-

rine's, as a more hazardous work was to be undertaken. Much of the night was spent in getting wood for the steamer, killing beees, and cooking meats, rice, and corn, for our women and children on shore, and for the troops. The men needed no 'driver's lash' to incite them to labour. Sleep and rest were almost unwelcome, for they were preparing to go up Sapelo river, along whose banks, on the beautiful plantations, were their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, wives, and children. Weeks and months before, some of the men had left those loved ones with a promise to return, 'if de good Lord jis open de way.'

"At five o'clock on Friday morning, Nov. 7, we were under way. Captain Budd, of the gunboat *Potomaska*, had kindly promised, the evening before, to accompany us past the most dangerous places. On reaching his station in Sapelo Sound, we found him in readiness. Our little fleet, led by the *Potomaska*, and followed by the *Darlington*, sailed proudly up the winding Sapelo, now through marshes, and then past large and beautiful plantations. It was very affecting to see our soldiers watching intensely the coloured forms on land, one saying, in the agony of deepest anxiety, 'Oh, Mas'r, my wife and chillen lib dere;' and another singing out, 'Dere, dere my brodder,' or 'my sister.' The earnest longings of their poor, anguish-riven hearts for landings, and then the sad, inexpressible regrets as the steamer passed, must be imagined—they cannot be described.

"The first landing was made at a picket-station on Charles Hopkins's plantation. The enemy was driven back, a few guns and a sword only captured. The *Potomaska* came to anchor, for lack of sufficient water, a few miles above, at Reuben King's plantation. Here we witnessed a rich scene. Some fifty negroes appeared on the banks, about thirty rods distant from their master's house, and some distance from the *Darlington*. They gazed upon us with intense feelings, alternately turning their eyes toward their master, who was watching them from his piazza, and toward our steamer, which, as yet, had given them no assurances of landing. The moment she headed to the shore, their doubts were dispersed, and they gave us such a welcome as angels would be satisfied with. Some few women were so filled with joy, that they ran, leaped, clapped their hands, and cried, 'Glory to God! Glory to God!'

"After relieving the old planter of 20,000 dollars' worth of humanity, that is, fifty-two slaves, and the leather of his tannery, we re-embarked. Our boats were sent once and again, however, to the shore for men, who, having heard the steam-whistle, came in greatest haste from distant plantations.

"As the *Potomaska* could go no farther, Captain Budd kindly offered to accompany us with one gun's crew. We were glad to have his company and the services of the crew, as we had only one gun's crew of coloured men. Above us was a bend in the river, and a high bluff covered with thick woods. There we apprehended danger, for the rebels had had ample time to collect their forces. The men were carefully posted, fully instructed as to their duties and dangers by Colonel Beard. Our Parrotts were manned, and

every thing was in readiness. No sooner were we within rifle-shot than the enemy opened upon us a heavy fire from behind the bank and trees, and also from the tops of the trees. Our speed being slow, and the river's bend quite large, we were within range of the enemy's guns for some time. How well our troops bore themselves will be seen by Captain Budd's testimony.

"Our next landing was made at Daniel McDonald's plantation. His extensive and valuable salt-works were demolished, and he himself taken prisoner. By documents captured, it was ascertained that he was a rebel of the worst kind. We took only a few of his slaves, as he drove back into the woods about ninety of them just before our arrival. One fine-looking man came hobbling down on a crutch. McDonald had shot off one of his legs some eighteen months before. The next plantation had some 500 slaves on it; several of our troops had come from it, and also had relatives there; but the lateness of the hour, and the dangerous points to be passed on our return, admonished us to retreat.

"Our next attack was expected at the bluff. The enemy had improved the time since we parted from them in gathering reinforcements. Colonel Beard prepared the men for a warm fire. While every thing was in readiness, and the steamer dropping down hard upon the enemy, the writer passed around among the men, who were waiting coolly for the moment of attack, and asked them if they found their courage failing. 'Oh, no, Mas'r, our trust be in de Lord. We only want a fair chance at 'em,' was the unanimous reply.

"Most people have doubted the courage of negroes, and their ability to stand a warm fire of the enemy. The engagements of this day were not an open field fight, to be sure, but the circumstances were peculiar. They were taken by surprise, the enemy concealed, his force not known, and some of the troops had been enlisted only two days. Captain Budd, a brave and experienced officer, and eye-witness of both engagements, has kindly given his opinion, which we are sure will vindicate the policy, as well as justness, of arming the coloured man for his own freedom at least.

"United States Steamer *Potomaska*;

"Sapelo River, Ga., Nov. 7, 1862.

"SIR,—It gives me pleasure to testify to the admirable conduct of the negro troops (First S. C. Volunteers) under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Beard, 48th New-York Volunteers, during this day's operations. They behaved splendidly under the warm and galling fire we were exposed to in the two skirmishes with the enemy. I did not see a man flinch, contrary to my expectations.

"One of them, particularly, came under my notice, who, although badly wounded in the face, continued to load and fire in the coolest manner imaginable.

"Every one of them acted like veterans.

"Very respectfully,

WILLIAM BUDD.

Acting-Lieutenant commanding *Potomaska*.

"To the Rev. M. French, Chaplain, U.S.A.

"On reaching his ship, Captain Budd led our

retreat. It had been agreed, after full consultation on the subject, that, in our descent down the river, it was best to burn the buildings of Captain Hopkins and Colonel Brailsford. Both of these places were strong picket-stations, particularly the latter. Brailsford had been down with a small force a few days before our arrival at St. Catherine's, and shot one of our contrabands; wounded mortally, as was supposed, another; and carried off four women and three men. He had also whipped to death, three weeks before, a slave, for attempting to make his escape. We had on board Sam Miller, a former slave, who had received over three hundred lashes for refusing to inform on a few of his fellows who had escaped.

"On passing among the men, as we were leaving the scenes of action, I inquired if they had grown any to-day? Many simultaneously exclaimed, 'Oh, yes, Massa, we have grown three inches! Sam said, 'I feel a heap more of a man!'

"With the lurid flames still lighting up all the region behind, and the bright rays of the smiling moon before them, they formed a circle on the lower deck, and around the hatchway leading to the hold, where were the women and children captured during the day, and on bended knees they offered up sincere and heartfelt thanksgivings to Almighty God for the mercies of the day. Such fervent prayers for the President, for the hearing of his Proclamation by all in bonds, and for the ending of the war and Slavery, were seldom, if ever, heard before. About one hour was spent in singing and prayer. Those waters surely never echoed with such sounds before.

"Our steamer left Beaufort without a soldier, and returned, after an absence of twelve days, with 156 fighting coloured men, some of whom dropped the hoe, took a musket, and were at once soldiers, ready to fight for the freedom of others."

It is conceded on all sides, that wherever our armies have had occupancy, there slavery has been practically abolished. The fact was recognised by President Lincoln in his last appeal to the loyal Slave States to consummate emancipation.

Another noticeable act of our Government in behalf of liberty is the official provision it makes for the wants of the thousands of helpless human beings thus thrown upon our care. Taxed with the burden of an immense war, with the care of thousands of sick and wounded, the United-States' Government has cheerfully voted rations for helpless slaves, no less than wages to the helpful ones. The United-States' Government pays teachers to instruct them, and overseers to guide their industrial efforts. A free-labour experiment is already in successful operation among the beautiful sea-islands in the neighbourhood of Beaufort, which, even under most disadvantageous circumstances, is fast demonstrating how much more efficiently men will work from hope and liberty than from fear and constraint. Thus, even amid the roar of cannon and the confusion of war, cotton-planting, as a free-labour institution, is beginning its infant life, to grow hereafter to a glorious manhood.

The amount received by the United-States' Government from the sale of cotton raised by 2000 families is stated to exceed 1,000,000 dollars.

Lastly, the great decisive measure of the war has appeared—*The President's Proclamation of Emancipation*.

This also has been much misunderstood and misrepresented in England. It has been said to mean virtually this: Be loyal, and you shall keep your slaves; rebel, and they shall be free.

But let us remember what we have just seen of the purpose and meaning of the Union to which the rebellious slaves are invited back. It is to a Union which has abolished Slavery in the district of Columbia, and interdicted Slavery in the Territories; which vigorously represses the slave-trade, and hangs the convicted slaver as a pirate; which necessitates emancipation by denying expansion to Slavery, and facilitates it by the offer of compensation. Any Slaveholding States which should return to such a Union might fairly be supposed to return with the purpose of peaceable emancipation. The President's Proclamation simply means this: Come in, and emancipate peaceably with compensation; stay out, and I emancipate, nor will I protect you from the consequences.

That continuance in the Union is thus understood, is already made manifest by the votes of Missouri and Delaware in the recent elections. Both of these States have given strong majorities for emancipation. Missouri, long tending towards emancipation, has already planted herself firmly on the great rock of Freedom, and thrown out her bold and eloquent appeal to the free States of the North for aid in overcoming the difficulties of her position. Other States will soon follow: nor is it too much to hope that, before a new year has gone far in its course, the sacred fire of Freedom will have flashed along the whole line of the Border States, responsive to the generous proposition of the President and Congress, and that universal emancipation will have become a fixed fact in the American Union.

Will our sisters in England feel no heart-beat at that event? Is it not one of the predicted voices of the latter day, saying under the whole heavens, "It is done: the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of His Christ?"

And now, sisters of England, in this solemn, expectant hour, let us speak to you of one thing which fills our hearts with pain and solicitude.

It is an unaccountable fact, and one which we entreat you seriously to ponder, that the party which has brought the cause of freedom thus far on its way during the past eventful year has found little or no support in England. Sadder than this, the party which makes Slavery the chief corner-stone of its edifice finds in England its strongest defenders.

The voices that have spoken for us who contend for liberty have been few and scattering. God forbid that we should forget those few noble voices, so sadly exceptional in the general outcry against us! They are, alas! too few to be easily forgotten. False statements have blinded the minds of your community, and turned the most generous sentiments of the British heart against us. The North are fighting for supremacy and

the South for independence, has been the voice. Independence? for what? to do what? To prove the doctrine that all men are *not* equal. To establish the doctrine that the white man may enslave the negro.

It is natural to sympathize with people who are fighting for their rights; but if these prove to be the right of selling children by the pound, and trading in husbands and wives as merchantable articles, should not Englishmen think twice before giving their sympathy? A pirate-ship on the high seas is fighting for *independence*! Let us be consistent.

It has been said that we have been oversensitive, thin-skinned. It is one inconvenient attendant of love and respect, that they do induce sensitiveness. A brother or father turning against one in the hour of trouble, a friend sleeping in the Gethsamane of our mortal anguish, does not always find us armed with divine patience. We loved England; we respected, revered her; we were bound to her by ties of blood and race. Alas! must all these declarations be written in the past tense?

But that we may not be thought to have overestimated the popular tide against us, we shall express our sense of it in the words of an English writer, one of the noble few who have spoken the truth on our side. Referring to England's position on this question, he says:

"What is the meaning of this? Why does the English nation, which has made itself memorable to all time as the destroyer of negro Slavery, which has shrunk from no sacrifices to free its own character from that odious stain, and to close all the countries of the world against the slave-merchant—why is it that the nation which is at the head of Abolitionism, not only feels no sympathy with those who are fighting against the slaveholding conspiracy, but actually desires its success? Why is the general voice of our press, the general sentiment of our people, bitterly reproachful to the North, while for the South, the aggressors of the war, we have either mild apologies or direct and downright encouragement; and this not only from the Tory and anti-Democratic camp, but from Liberals, or *soi-disant* such?"

"This strange perversion of feeling prevails nowhere else. The public of France, and of the Continent generally, at all events the Liberal part of it, saw at once on which side were justice and moral principle, and gave its sympathies consistently and steadily to the North. Why is England an exception?"

In the beginning of our struggle, the voices that reached us across the water said, "If we were only sure you were fighting for the abolition of Slavery, we should not dare to say whither our sympathies for your cause might not carry us."

Such, as we heard, were the words of the honoured and religious nobleman who draughted this very letter which you signed and sent us, and to which we are now replying.

When these words reached us, we said, "We can wait; our friends in England will soon see whither this conflict is tending." A year and a half have passed; step after step has been taken for Liberty; chain after chain has fallen, till the march of our armies is choked and clogged by

the glad flocking of emancipated slaves; the day of final emancipation is set; the Border States begin to move in voluntary consent; universal freedom for all dawns like the sun in the distant horizon: and still no voice from England. No voice? Yes, we have heard on the high seas the voice of a war-steamer, built, for a man-stealing Confederacy, with English gold, in an English dockyard, going out of an English harbour, manned by English sailors, with the full knowledge of English Government-officers, in defiance of the Queen's proclamation of neutrality. So far has English sympathy overflowed. We have heard of other steamers, iron-clad, designed to furnish to a Slavery-defending Confederacy their only lack—a navy for the high seas. We have heard that the British Evangelical Alliance refuses to express sympathy with the liberating party, when requested to do so by the French Evangelical Alliance. We find in English religious newspapers all those sad degress in the downward sliding-scale of defending and apologizing for slaveholders and slaveholding with which we have so many years contended in our own country. We find the President's Proclamation of Emancipation spoken of in those papers only as an incitement to servile insurrection. Nay, more—we find in your papers, from thoughtful men, the admission of the rapid decline of anti-slavery sentiments. Witness the following:

"The Rev. Mr. Maurice, Principal of the Working-Men's College, Great Ormond Street, delivered the first general lecture of the term on Saturday evening, and took for his subject the state of English feeling on the Slavery question. He said, 'a few days ago, in a conversation on the American war, that some gentlemen connected with the College had confessed to a change in their sympathies in the matter. On the outbreak of the war they had been strong sympathizers with the Government and the Northern States, but gradually they had drifted until they found themselves desiring the success of the Seceded States, and all but free from their anti-slavery feelings and tendencies.' These confessions elicited strong expressions of indignation from a gentleman present, who had lectured in the College on the war in Kansas. He (Mr. Maurice) felt inclined to share in the indignation expressed; but, since, he could not help feeling that this change was very general in England."

Alas, then, England! is it so? In this day of great deeds and great heroisms, this solemn hour when the mighty Redeemer is coming to break every yoke, do we hear such voices from England?

This very day the writer of this has been present at a solemn religious festival in the national capital, given at the home of a portion of those fugitive slaves who have fled to our lines for protection—who, under the shadow of our flag, find sympathy and succour. The national day of thanksgiving was there kept by over a thousand redeemed slaves, and for whom Christian charity had spread an ample repast. Our sisters, we wish *you* could have witnessed the scene. We wish you could have heard the prayer of a blind old negro, called among his fellows John the Baptist, when, in touching broken English he poured forth his thanksgivings. We wish you could have heard the sound of that strange

rhythmical chant which is now forbidden to be sung on Southern plantations—the psalm of this modern exodus—which combines the barbaric fire of the Marseillaise with the religious fervour of the old Hebrew prophet.

“Oh go down, Moses,
Way down into Egypt's land,
Tell King Pharaoh
To let my people go!
Stand away dere,
Stand away dere,
And let my people go!

“Oh, Pharaoh, said he would go 'cross!
Let my people go!
Oh, Pharaoh and his hosts were lost!
Let my people go!
You may hinder me here,
But ye can't up dere!
Let my people go!

“Oh, Moses, stretch your hand across!
Let my people go!
And don't get lost in de wilderness!
Let my people go!
He sits in de heavens,
And answers prayers.
Let my people go!”

As we were leaving, an aged woman came and lifted up her hands in blessing. “Bressed be de Lord dat brought me to see dis first happy day of my life! Bressed be de Lord!” In all England is there no Amen?

We have been shocked and saddened by the question asked in an association of Congregational ministers in England, the very blood-relations of the liberty-loving Puritans—“Why does not the North let the South go?”

What! give up the point of emancipation for these four million slaves? Turn our backs on them, and leave them to their fate? What! leave our white brothers to run a career of oppression and robbery, that, as sure as there is a God that ruleth in the armies of heaven, will bring down a day of wrath and doom?

Is it any advantage to people to be educated in man-stealing as a principle, to be taught systematically to rob the labourer of his wages, and to tread on the necks of weaker races? Who among you would wish your sons to become slave-planters, slave-merchants, slave-dealers? And shall we leave our brethren to this fate? Better a generation should die on the battlefield, that their children may grow up in liberty and justice. Yes, our sons must die, their sons must die. We give ours freely: they die to redeem the very brothers that slay them; they give their blood in expiation of this great sin, begun by you in England, perpetuated by us in America, and for which God in this great day of judgment is making inquisition in blood.

In a recent battle fell a Secession colonel, the last remaining son of his mother, and she a widow. That mother had sold eleven children of an old slave mother, her servant. That servant went to her and said, “Missis, we even now. You sold all my children. God took all yourn. Not one to bury either of us. Now, I forgive you.”

In another battle fell the only son of another widow. Young, beautiful, heroic, brought up by

his mother in the sacred doctrines of human liberty, he gave his life an offering as to a holy cause. He died. No slave-woman came to tell his mother of God's justice, for many slaves have reason to call her blessed.

Now we ask you, Would you change places with that Southern mother? Would you not think it a great misfortune for a son or a daughter to be brought into such a system?—a worse one to become so perverted as to defend it? Remember, then, that wishing success to this slavery-establishing effort is only wishing to the sons and daughters of the South all the curses that God has written against oppression. *Mark our words!* If we succeed, the children of these very men who are now fighting us will rise up to call us blessed. Just as surely as there is a God who governs in the world, so surely all the laws of national prosperity follow in the train of equity; and if we succeed, we shall have delivered the children's children of our misguided brethren from the wages of sin, which is always and everywhere death.

And now, Sisters of England, think it not strange, if we bring back the words of your letter, not in bitterness, but in deepest sadness, and lay them down at your door. We say to you,—Sisters, you have spoken well; we have heard you; we have heeded; we have striven in the cause, even unto death. We have sealed our devotion by desolate hearth and darkened homestead,—by the blood of sons, husbands, and brothers. In many of our dwellings the very light of our lives has gone out; and yet we accept the life-long darkness as our own part in this great and awful expiation, by which the bonds of wickedness shall be loosed, and abiding peace established on the foundation of righteousness. Sisters, what have you done, and what do you mean to do?

In view of the decline of the noble anti-slavery fire in England,—in view of all the facts and admissions recited from your own papers,—we beg leave in solemn sadness to return to you your own words:

“A common origin, a common faith, and, we sincerely believe, a common cause, urge us, at the present moment, to address you on the subject of that fearful encouragement and support which is being afforded by England to a slaveholding Confederacy.

“We will not dwell on the ordinary topics,—on the progress of civilization, on the advance of freedom everywhere, on the rights and requirements of the nineteenth century; but we appeal to you very seriously to reflect, and to ask counsel of God how far such a state of things is in accordance with his holy word, the inalienable rights of immortal souls, and the pure and merciful spirit of the Christian religion.

“We appeal to you, as sisters, as wives, and as mothers, to raise your voices to your fellow-citizens, and your prayers to God, for the removal of this affliction and disgrace from the Christian world.”

In behalf of many thousands of American women,

HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.
Washington, Nov. 27, 1862.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1863.

OBITUARY.

WE deeply regret to have to record the death, in his 59th year, of William Churchman, who had been for thirty-five years in the service of the *Anti-Slavery Society*, in the humble but most useful capacity of messenger. His death occurred on Saturday morning, the 21st ult., after only a few day's illness. The Committee fully appreciated his faithful services, and no one more than the writer of this notice. He leaves a widow and a young daughter unprovided for.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DUTCH WEST INDIES.

THE following Address, on the Abolition of Slavery in the Dutch West-India Colonies, has been presented to the King of the Netherlands, by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*:

ADDRESS.

TO WILLIAM THE THIRD, KING OF HOLLAND.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING,

THE Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* have hailed with real satisfaction the adoption by the legislature of Holland of an Act setting free the slaves in the Dutch West Indies, to come into effect on the 1st of July 1863, and of its ratification by THE KING.

The Committee, as the representatives of a body which has, for many years, been identified with the cause of Negro Emancipation, and as the exponents of the views and sentiments of a very large majority of their fellow-countrymen, may, in this capacity, assure THE KING, that the satisfaction the Committee have expressed is shared by the British nation; and they would respectfully offer and beg THE KING to receive their sincere congratulations on the occasion of the consummation of this most auspicious event of his reign.

It has been the happy privilege of the Committee to hold constant communication with the friends of emancipation in Holland; and they have watched with the deepest interest, occasionally not without anxiety, the progress of the anti-slavery movement in that country; and when, from time to time, the projected abolition measure was retarded, they have ever felt encouraged by the firm attitude of its promoters, but especially by the knowledge that THE KING himself had pronounced in favour of its speedy adoption.

It has afforded the Committee unqualified

satisfaction to perceive that the Dutch Abolition Act is based upon the principle of immediate emancipation, and is to take effect within the briefest period compatible with the completion of the necessary arrangements for that purpose. The results of emancipation in the British Colonies have fully demonstrated the wisdom and the safety, as they have thoroughly vindicated the policy of doing justice promptly, and the unreserved adoption by Holland, at the present momentous crisis, of a policy of which Great Britain set the example, which has been followed by France, and, to a certain extent, by Portugal, cannot, the Committee believe, but produce a salutary effect in countries which have the misfortune still to possess slaves, and powerfully tend to encourage the friends of freedom there to persevere in all righteous efforts to obtain, by moral means, the release of our brethren who are in bonds.

While the Committee would venture to express regret that it has been considered necessary to impose certain restrictions upon the freedom of the emancipated classes, and to place them, for a term, under a kind of tutelage, such restrictions having a direct tendency, the Committee believe, to perpetuate prejudice, and create social distinctions of an invidious character, the Committee are rejoiced to admit, that, as a whole, the Dutch Emancipation Act is benevolently framed; and they sincerely trust it will, in its results, fully realize the anticipations of its promoters.

Apart from the gratification it affords the Committee to record, in the adoption of an Act of Emancipation by THE KING and the people of Holland, one more instance of the triumph of anti-slavery principles, the Committee believe that in a communion of sympathy with the wrongs of the oppressed negro race, and in an identity of effort for its elevation and social advancement, the Dutch and British nations will have an additional bond of union, and the ancient alliance between them will be thereby strengthened and perpetuated.

The Committee salute THE KING with sincere respect, and earnestly desire that the King of kings and the Ruler of princes may inspire him with wisdom to govern in peace and prosperity the people committed to his charge, and grant him the privilege of years to behold the fruition of that Act which has given freedom to forty-thousand of his subjects, and reinstated them in possession of their natural rights.

On behalf of the Committee,
27 New Broad Street, E.C.,
London, 5th Dec. 1862.

The subjoined is the official acknowledgment of its gracious reception by the King:

"Netherlands Legation, Feb. 11, 1863.

"GENTLEMEN,—His Majesty the King of the Netherlands has desired me to convey to the Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* his special thanks and acknowledgments for the Address presented to His Majesty in the name of the Committee, through the medium of the British Legation at the Hague, on the occasion of the abolition of Slavery in the Netherland West Indies.

"The King has been pleased to accept this token of respect from the Committee, with whose proceedings His Majesty has ever felt a warm sympathy; and His Majesty, in the fervent hope that the Almighty may favour their endeavours, assures the members of this humane Association, that the further labours of the Committee for the Abolition of Slavery will ever be most highly appreciated by His Majesty.

"I have much satisfaction in conveying to the Committee these sentiments of my Sovereign, and have the honour to be,

"GENTLEMEN,

"Your obedient Servant,

(Signed) "BARON BENTINCK,

"Minister of the Netherlands at the Court of St. James's."

EMANCIPATION IN THE DUTCH COLONIES.

WE are, at length, enabled to lay before our friends a translation of the text of the Law passed for the abolition of Slavery in the Dutch Colony of Surinam. For the islands, it differs in some unimportant particulars, chiefly in relation to the compensation, which is lower than in Surinam.

(From the *Netherlands' Royal Gazette*.)

(No. 164.) LAW OF AUGUST 8TH, 1862,
RELATING TO THE ABOLITION OF
SLAVERY IN THE COLONY OF SURINAM.

WILLIAM THE THIRD, by the Grace of God King of the Netherlands, Prince of Orange and Nassau, Grand Duke of Luxemburg, &c. &c. &c.

To all, to whom these presents shall come, greeting :

Whereas for divers good causes to Us appearing, We have deemed it right that Slavery in the Colony of Surinam should be abolished ;

And whereas We are desirous at the same time to provide the means of maintaining, and, as much as possible, extending the agriculture and the industry of the Colony ;

Wherefore, We, having consulted the Council of State, do hereby, with the advice and approval of the States' General, enact :

CHAPTER I.

General principles.

Art. 1.

That Slavery in the Colony of Surinam shall be abolished from and after the first of July 1863.

Art. 2.

That compensation shall be given to the owners of slaves.

Art. 3.

That those who are made free by virtue of Art. 1, are to be, from the first of July, under particular surveillance of the State, for the term of ten years at the utmost.

Art. 4.

The colonization of Surinam, by free labourers, shall be encouraged by the State.

Premiums will be granted by the State, for the importation of free-labourers, during the term of five years at the utmost, from the promulgation of the present law.

The sum total of these premiums shall not exceed one million of guilders.

The conditions, on the fulfilment of which the payment of these premiums shall depend, shall be determined by Us, and the Government shall regulate also the mode and manner of inspecting the immigrants when they are landed.

CHAPTER II.

Compensation.

Art. 5.

Within thirty days after the promulgation of this law in the Colony of Surinam, all owners of slaves, or their representatives, shall deliver to the Secretary of the Government a return in duplicate, containing the names of the plantations to which the slaves belong ; the names and residences of the owners, or their representatives ; the name, the sex, the age, the profession or trade, and the religion of the slaves belonging to them, with a list of those who have a right to manumission, and of those who have been classed as infected with leprosy or elephantiasis.

A receipt for such return shall be delivered to those who produce it.

Art. 6.

Owners of slaves, or their representatives, neglecting to produce the return mentioned in Art. 5, within the stated term, it will be made out by the Government, and the expenses thereof shall be paid by the defaulter.

Art. 7.

The returns mentioned in the two preceding Articles shall be checked by the Government, within a short term fixed by the Governor of Surinam, against the actual number of slaves, and, if need be, with the registers.

Art. 8.

The amount of compensation for slaves, belonging to plantations or to private estates, or for personal slaves, is fixed, without difference as to age or sex, at 300 guilders (25*l.*) a head.

Art. 9.

Compensation will not be given for :

a. Slaves who are infected, or who must be removed on account of infection. With regard to those who, according to the decree published Sept. 7th, 1830 (*Royal Gazette*, No. 13), or those who, in consequence of the verification mentioned in Art. 7, may be afterwards declared suspected of being infected with one of the therein specified maladies, the decision as to the adjudging of a compensation shall be suspended. No compensation shall be given if the infected individual is not declared healthy by the commission, mentioned in Art. 9 of the Decree of Sept. 7th, 1830, within a year after the promulgation of this law in the Colony of Surinam.

b. Slaves who have deserted or been lost longer than *one* month before the day of the verification mentioned in Art. 7.

c. Slaves condemned to compulsory labour, whose term of punishment will not be fulfilled within *four* years after the first of July 1863.

d. Children born of women slaves after the promulgation of the present law in the Colony of Surinam.

Art. 10.

Compensation shall include not only the person of the slave, but also his clothes, cattle, and poultry, and all moveable possessions, these being considered, according to colonial custom, his own.

These possessions then become his property absolutely.

Art. 11.

According to the verified returns (*vide* Art. 7), a list will be made out, containing the amounts of compensations that are to be granted, which list will be, during *thirty* days after the expiration of the above-mentioned term, deposited with the Secretary of the Government for examination.

Art. 12.

If the owners, or their representatives, are dissatisfied with that list, they may, within *fourteen* days after the term mentioned in the preceding article, declare opposition to the Government Secretary, through the public crier, mentioning the motives of their complaint.

Art. 13.

During the first fortnight after registration, all cases of opposition shall be submitted, on penalty of annulment, to the first assembly of the court of the colony of Surinam.

On the day of hearing, the evidence on each side shall be set forth verbally, without attorneys, and without written pleadings.

The court shall declare its decision as soon as possible, but may order a further inquiry within a term to be stated.

The decision of the court shall be without appeal.

Art. 14.

The compensation, mentioned in Art. 8, shall be paid within *three* months from the abolition of Slavery, to the owner or his representative.

The payment shall be made in Bills of Exchange, in guilders, to be drawn by the Governor on the Minister for the Colonies, payable one month after sight by the Bank of the Netherlands in Amsterdam; or, if desired, and if, in the opinion of the Governor, the colonial treasury can meet the demand, at Paramaribo, and in coin of legal currency.

Art. 15.

In case of any difference as to the right to any slave, or if a third party claim the amount of the compensation, or a part of it, the payment of the whole sum shall be delayed till the parties are agreed, or till the question of right has been determined.

Art. 16.

The right to compensation, under the present law, shall be forfeited, with regard to all sums which are not claimed within *four* years after the abolition of Slavery.

Art. 17.

The returns, declarations, discharges, and all documents required, according to the stipulations of this chapter, shall be exempted from stamp duty.

CHAPTER III.

On the surveillance of the State.

Art. 18.

The surveillance of the freed negroes shall be performed by paid functionaries whose functions and competence shall be set forth and determined by a general ordinance.

These functionaries shall not be connected with the administration of the colonies, nor shall they have any pecuniary interest in any enterprise in Surinam.

Art. 19.

The surveillance of the State is for the protection of the emancipated, and with a view to instruct them in family and public life; to prevent idleness, to regulate labour, and also to promote secular and religious instruction; further, to prescribe the manner of aiding the indigent, and to make provision for nursing the sick; and, in general, to take whatever measures may be requisite in behalf of the emancipated negroes or for the preservation of public order.

Art. 20.

The Governor of Surinam is authorised to discharge from the surveillance of the State, those freed negroes who may distinguish themselves by their morality and diligence.

CHAPTER IV.

Art. 21.

The slaves who are made free, shall adopt a family name, by which they are to be registered, and as much as possible, in family groups.

Such register shall be signed in some form by those who are registered, and it shall set forth their names and Christian names, the date of their birth, or their probable age.

The Governor of the colony shall see that that the registration is made at the time of the abolition of Slavery.

Art. 22.

The common civil and penal law is to be applied to the freed negroes, save to such as are excepted during their surveillance by the State.

Art. 23.

The freed slaves shall be considered as inhabitants of the colony, but until the expiration of the term of the State surveillance, they shall not come into the full enjoyment of the rights of citizenship, save such as are discharged from such surveillance.

Art. 24.

Labour shall be obligatory upon all who are placed under the surveillance of the State, subject to the following rules :

A. *Respecting those who have been settled, or who have been ordinary labourers on plantations or estates.*

§ 1. All, from the age of fifteen to sixty shall be competent to enter into contracts, at their choice, with planters or employers of husbandmen, for the performance of plantation labour.

§ 2. Such contracts shall be made before the functionary mentioned in Art. 18, and according to the ordinances relating thereto, for not less than one year, and not for more than three years.

§ 3. The Governor shall have the power, in so far as he may deem it necessary for the maintenance of peace and order, to restrict, during the two first years after the promulgation of this law, the choice of the freed negroes to enter into contracts for labour, to the district where they may be settled on the first of July 1863.

§ 4. Those who have not entered into contracts within *three* months after the abolition of slavery shall be set to work, under the care of the Government, in Government plantations, or on works of general utility.

§ 5. Those who are above sixty years of age shall remain with the families to which they belong, likewise children under fifteen, who, in every case, shall follow their mothers.

§ 6. The aged and the children shall help, according to their strength and capacity, and shall be paid proportionate wages, by the tenant or the planter with whom the head of the family, or the mother of the children, shall have entered into a contract.

B. *Respecting those who are not settled, or who have not been ordinary labourers on plantations or estates.*

§ 1. These, like the former plantation slaves, from the age of fifteen to sixty, shall enter into contracts with persons of their choice, to perform labour or service.

§ 2. Such contracts, entered into before the functionary mentioned in Art. 18, and according to the ordinances relating thereto, shall be made for not less than *three* months and for not longer than *one* year, for work or service in town. When the engagements are for plantation labourers, the rules of §§ 2, 5, and 6 of subdivision A. shall be applied.

§ 3. To those who can satisfactorily prove that they are able to practise some calling, profession, or trade, and to provide for their own wants and those of their family, a license to exercise such calling shall be given, upon payment of a license duty, to be levied by general colonial ordinance in regard to the practice of such calling, profession, or trade.

This profession or trade license shall be renewed yearly.

§ 4. Those who do not enter into any contract within *three* months after the abolition of Slavery, and those who, by virtue of the license given to them, do not practise any calling, profession, or trade, shall be set to work, under the inspection of the Government, according to their strength and capacity, on Government plantations, or on works of general utility.

§ 5. Those who are above *sixty* years of age, and children from *twelve* to *fifteen*, shall perform light labour, according to their strength and capacity.

§ 6. Children shall not be separated from their mothers, unless they are above *twelve* years of age.

CHAPTER V.

General stipulations.

Art. 25.

Religious and secular instruction shall be encouraged, and as much as possible supported by the State.

Art. 26.

Permission to possess or to bear weapons,

shall be given only under peculiar circumstances, to those who are under the inspection of the State, and to field and plantation labourers.

Art. 27.

Except penal labour, all labour on Government plantations or on works of general utility shall be remunerated; the wages, as also the work itself, shall be regulated by the Government, according to a tariff.

The tariff shall fix the rate of wages for plantation labour contracted for by private individuals, unless the contract contain other conditions.

A working-day shall be calculated to consist of *eight* hours of labour in the fields, and of *ten* hours in buildings, and a working-year shall be *three hundred* working-days.

Art. 28.

When no volunteers can be obtained for reasonable hire, for military and other service, or for works of general utility, the Government shall have the right to employ those who are under State surveillance, from fifteen to sixty years of age, as also all other field and plantation labourers.

Art. 29.

Idleness and vagrancy shall be punishable according to ordinance, to be hereafter issued.

Art. 30.

Owners of slaves shall lodge, during *three* months at the utmost, after the abolition of Slavery, those of their former slaves who shall be at that time without a domicile. They may, however, release themselves from this obligation, by paying the cost of lodging them elsewhere, to the satisfaction of the State Inspector.

On the other hand, the freed negroes shall be bound to work at least *four* days a week, for the benefit of him who lodges them.

Art. 31.

Any one setting to work or lodging any who are under State surveillance, without a written contract, shall be punished by fine, and be liable to arrest, according to a general ordinance to be made for that purpose.

Art. 32.

The Government shall take care that those who are under its surveillance obtain medical assistance and attendance when sick, by an ordinance to that effect; and that *on the plantations*, the owners shall provide suitable rooms for the sick, medical treatment and attendance; and that *for others, elsewhere*, hospitals shall be established. Those who, by virtue of existing ordinances, are removed on account of contagion, shall be treated in establishments specially set apart for this purpose.

Art. 33.

Those who hire freed negroes, who are

under State surveillance, shall provide them with suitable habitations; and, further, give them grounds for cultivating food for their own use. Ordinances, to this effect, will be enacted later.

Art. 34.

The freed negroes who are not at work on plantations, shall provide themselves with lodging and medical treatment, as also their family, unless other conditions are made in their contract for labour or service.

Art. 35.

The Government shall undertake the lodging and care of orphans and other indigents.

Towards the expenses of such charge, all the freed negroes who are able to contract, all the field and plantation labourers, and those who, according to Art. 24 B., § 3, come under the conditions of the licence duty, are to be subjected to a yearly tax: the men 3*f*. (5*s*.), and the women 1.50*f*. (2*s*. 6*d*.). This tax shall be paid, in the first instance, by the employer, into the State Treasury at the beginning of the year, and shall be deducted in the course of the year from the wages of the labourers; also by those who pay license duty, and by independent free negroes, on the delivery of the licence mentioned in § 3.

Art. 36.

The penalties for not fulfilling contracts are:

The employer shall be liable to arrest, with or without the annulment of his contract; in the first instance with indemnification, if the terms of the contract justify the same.

a. The labourer shall be liable to fine, and, in case of non-payment, the amount shall be deducted from his wages.

c. He may also be put to hard labour on the public works.

These matters shall be regulated by ordinance to be hereafter made, and by which, at the same time, the judge shall be indicated, and the manner of proceeding prescribed.

Art. 37.

The Governor of Surinam shall retain, in certain cases, the power given to him by Art. 78 of the regulations for the management of the Government in the colony of Surinam, as set forth by Royal decree of August 9th, 1832, No. 69 (*Government Newspaper*, No. 13).

Art. 38.

Expenses, resulting from the application of the present law, shall not be incurred, unless the sums required are previously sanctioned by the law.

Art. 39.

Every year, beginning with 1863, an account shall be sent by our Minister of the

Colonies to the States' General, relating to the execution of the present law.

It is ordered that this Law be published in the *Royal Gazette*, and that all the ministerial departments, authorities, colleges, and functionaries to whom it comes, shall see to its exact execution.

Done at Wiesbaden, this 8th day of August, 1862. WILLIAM.

The Minister for the Colonies,

G. H. UHLENBECK.

Published the Twenty-second day of August 1862.

The Director of the King's Cabinet,

DE KOCK.

THE FREED MEN OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

OFFICIAL REPORT.

(Concluded from p. 12.)

It is not pretended that many of these labourers could not have done more than they have done, or that in persistent application they are the equals of races living in colder and more bracing latitudes. They generally went to their work quite early in the morning, and returned at noon, often earlier, working, however, industriously while they were in the field. Late in the afternoon, they worked upon their private patches. They protested against working on Saturdays. A contrary rule was, however, prescribed and enforced, and they did double work on Saturday in order to secure for themselves the day following. As they were making themselves self-supporting by the amount of work which could be obtained from them without discipline, it was thought advisable, under the present condition of things, not to exact more, but to await the full effect of moral and material inspirations, which can in time be applied.

What has, nevertheless, been accomplished with these obstructions, with all the uncertainties incidental to a state of war, and with our own views of personal familiarity at first with the individual labourers themselves, gives the best reason to believe, that, under the guidance, and with the help of the fugitive masters, had they been so disposed, these people might have made their way from bondage, and its enforced labour, to freedom, and its voluntary and compensated labour, without any essential diminution of products, or any appreciable derangement of social order. In this, as in all things, the universe is so ordered that the most beneficent revolutions, which cost life and treasure, may be accomplished justly and in peace, if men have only the heart to accept them.

The contributions of clothing from the Benevolent Associations have been liberal; but liberal as they have been, they have failed to meet the distressing want which pervaded the territory. The masters had left the negroes destitute, not having supplied their winter clothing when our forces had arrived, so that both the winter and spring clothing had not been furnished. From all accounts it would also seem that since the war began the usual amount of clothing given had been much diminished. That contributed by the Associations cannot fall below 10,000 dols. It

has produced a most marked change in the general appearance, particularly on Sundays, and at the schools, and tended to inspire confidence in the superintendents. It would have been almost useless to attempt labours for moral or religious instruction without the supplies thus sent to clothe the naked. A small amount, where there was an ability and desire to pay, has, with the special authority of the Societies, been sold, and the proceeds returned to them to be re-invested for the same purposes. The rest has been delivered without any money being received. In the case of the sick and disabled it is donated, and in case of those healthy and able to work it has been charged without expectations of money to be paid, that being thought to be the best course to prevent the labourers from regarding themselves as paupers, and as a possible aid to the Government in case prompt payments for labour should not be made.

It is most pleasing to state that, with the small payments for labour already made, those also for the collection of cotton being nearly completed, with the partial rations on some islands, and the supplies from benevolent sources on others, with the assistance which the mules have furnished for the cultivation of the crop—the general kindness and protecting care of the superintendents—the contributions of clothing forwarded by the Associations—the schools for the instruction of the children and others desirous to learn—with these and other favourable influences, confidence in the Government has been inspired, the labourers are working cheerfully, and they now present to the world the example of a well-behaved and self-supporting peasantry, of which their country has no reason to be ashamed.

The educational labours deserve a special statement. It is to be regretted that more teachers had not been provided. The labour of superintendence at the beginning proved so onerous, that several originally intended to be put in charge of schools were necessarily assigned for the other purpose. Some fifteen persons, on an average, have been specially occupied with teaching, and of these four were women. Others having less superintendence to attend to were able to devote considerable time to teaching, at regular hours. Nearly all gave some attention to it, more or less, according to their opportunity, and their aptitude for the work.

The educational statistics are incomplete, only a part of the schools having been open for two months, and the others having been open at intervals, upon the arrival of persons designated for the purpose. At present, according to the reports, 2500 persons are being taught on week-days, of whom not far from one-third are adults, taught when their work is done. But this does not complete the number occasionally taught on week-days and at the Sunday-schools. Humane soldiers have also aided in the case of their servants and others. Three thousand persons are in all probability receiving more or less instruction in reading on these islands. With an adequate force of teachers, this number might be doubled, as it is to be hoped it will be in the coming of autumn. The reports state that very many are now advanced enough, so that even if the work should stop here they would still learn to read by themselves. Thus the ability to read

the English language has been already so communicated to these people, that no matter what military or social vicissitudes may come, this knowledge can never perish from among them.

There have been forwarded to the special agent the reports of the teachers, and they result in a remarkable concurrence of testimony. All unite to attest the universal eagerness to learn, which they have not found equalled in white persons, arising both from the desire for knowledge common to all, and the desire to raise their condition, now very strong among these people. The reports on this point are cheering, even enthusiastic, and sometimes relate an incident of inspiration and affection united in beautiful combinations. One teacher, on his first day's school, leaves in the rooms a large alphabet card, and the next day returns to find a mother there teaching her little child of three years to pronounce the first letters of the alphabet she herself learned the day before. The children learn without urging by their parents, and as rapidly as white persons of the same age, often more so, the progress being quickened by the eager desire. One teacher reports that on the first day of her school only three or four knew a part of their letters, and none knew all. In one week seven boys and six girls could read readily words of one syllable, and the following week there were twenty in the same class. The cases of dullness have not exceeded those among whites. The mulattoes, of whom there are probably not more than five per cent. of the entire population on the plantations, are no brighter than the children of pure African blood. In the schools, which have been opened for some weeks, the pupils who have regularly attended have passed from the alphabet, and are reading words of one syllable in large and small letters. The lessons have been confined to reading and spelling, except in a few cases where writing has been taught.

There has been great apparent eagerness to learn among the adults, and some have progressed well. They will cover their books with care, each one being anxious to be thus provided, carry them to the fields, studying them at intervals of rest, and asking explanations of the superintendents who happened to come along. But as the novelty wore away, many of the adults, finding perseverance disagreeable, have dropped off. Except in rare cases, it is doubtful whether adults over thirty years, although appreciating the privilege for their children, will persevere in continuous study, so as to acquire the knowledge for themselves. Still, when books and newspapers are read in negro houses, many, inspired by the example of their children, will be likely to undertake the labour again.

It is proper to state that while the memory in coloured children is found to be, if any thing, livelier than in the white, it is quite probable that further along, when the higher faculties of comparison and combination are more to be relied on, their progress may be less. While their quickness is apparent, one is struck with their want of discipline. The children have been regarded as belonging to the plantation rather than to a family, and the parents, who in their condition can never have but a feeble hold on their offspring, have not been instructed in training their children into thoughtful and orderly

habits. It has, therefore, been found not an easy task to make them quiet and attentive at the schools.

Through the schools, habits of neatness have been encouraged. Children with soiled faces or soiled clothing, when known to have better, have been sent home from the schools, and have returned in better condition.

In a few cases the teachers have been assisted by negroes who knew how to read before we came. Of these there are very few. Perhaps one may be found on an average on one of two or three plantations. These, so far as can be ascertained, were in most cases taught clandestinely, often by the daughters of their masters who were of about the same age. A coloured person among these people who has learned to read does not usually succeed so well as a white teacher. He is apt to teach the alphabet in the usual order, and needs special training for the purpose.

The Sabbath-schools have assisted in the work of teaching. Some 300 persons are present at the church at St. Helena in the morning to be taught. There are other churches where one or two hundred attend. A part of these, perhaps the larger, attend some of the Day-schools, but they comprehend others, as adults, and still others coming from localities where schools have not been opened. One who regards spectacles in the light of their moral aspects, can with difficulty find sublimer scenes than those witnessed on Sabbath morning on these islands, now transformed to a nobler civilization.

The educational labours have had incidental results almost as useful as those which have been direct. At a time when the people were chafing the most under deprivations, and the assurances made on behalf of the Government were most distrusted, it was fortunate that we could point to the teaching of their children as a proof of our interest in their welfare, and of the new and better life which we were opening before them.

An effort has been made to promote clean and healthful habits. To that end, weekly cleanings of quarters were enjoined. This effort, where it could be properly made, met with reasonable success. The negroes, finding that we took an interest in their welfare, acceded cordially, and in many cases their diligence in this respect was most commendable. As a race, it is a mistake to suppose that they are indisposed to cleanliness. They appear to practice it as much as white people under the same circumstances. There are difficulties to obstruct improvement in this respect. There has been a scarcity of lime and (except at too high prices) of soap. Their houses are too small, not affording proper apartments for storing their food. They are unprovided with glass windows. Besides, some of them are tenements unfit for beasts, without floor or chimneys. One could not put on a face to ask the occupants to clean such a place. But where the building was decent or reasonably commodious, there has been no difficulty in securing the practice of this virtue. Many of these people are examples of tidiness, and on entering their houses one is sometimes witness of rather amusing scenes where a mother is trying the effect of beneficial ablutions on the heads of her children.

The religious welfare of these people has not been neglected. The churches, which were closed when this became a seat of war, have been opened. Among the superintendents there were several persons of clerical education, who have led in public ministrations. The larger part of them are persons of religious experience and profession, who, on the Sabbath, in weekly praise meetings and at funerals, have laboured for the consolation of these humble believers.

These people have been assured by the special agent, that if they proved themselves worthy, by their industry, good order, and sobriety, they should be protected against their rebel masters. It would be wasted toil to attempt their development without such assurances. An honourable nature would shrink from this work without the right to make them. Nor is it possible to imagine any rulers, now or in the future, who will ever turn their backs on the labourers who have been received, as these have been, into the service of the United States.

Special care has been taken to protect the property of the Government on the plantations. The cattle had been taken in such large numbers by the former owners, and later by the army, the latter sometimes slaughtering fifty or more head on a plantation, that the necessity of a strict rule for the preservation of those remaining was felt. For that purpose the special agent procured orders from the military and naval authorities, dated respectively April 17 and 26, forbidding the removal of "subsistence, forage, mules, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, cattle of any kind, or other property, from the plantations, without the consent of the special agent of the Treasury Department, or orders from the nearest General Commanding." No such consent has been given by the special agent except in one case, as an act of mercy to the animal, and in another where he ordered a lamb killed on a special occasion, and has charged himself with the same in his account with the Department. Your instructions, which expressed your desire to prevent the deterioration of the estates, have in this respect been sedulously attended to. The superintendents have not been permitted to kill cattle, even for fresh meat, and they have subsisted on their rations, and fish and poultry purchased of the negroes.

The success of the movement, now upon its third month, has exceeded my most sanguine expectations. It has had its peculiar difficulties; and some phases at times, arising from accidental causes, might on a partial view invite doubt, vanished however at once by a general survey of what had been done. Already the high treason of South Carolina has had a sublime compensation, and the end is not yet. The churches which were closed have been opened. No master now stands between the people and the words which the Saviour spoke for the consolation of all peoples and all generations. The Gospel is preached in fullness and purity, as it has never before been preached in this territory, even in colonial times. The reading of the English

language, with more or less system, is being taught to thousands, so that whatever military or political calamities may be in store, this precious knowledge can never more be eradicated. Ideas and habits have been planted, under the growth of which these people are to be fitted for the responsibilities of citizenship, and in equal degree unfitted for any restoration to what they have been. Modes of administration have been commenced, not indeed adapted to an advanced community, but just, paternal, and developing in their character. Industrial results have been reached which put at rest the often reiterated assumption that this territory and its products can only be cultivated by slaves—a social problem, which has vexed the wisest, approaches a solution. The capacity of a race, and the possibility of lifting it to civilization without danger or disorder, even without throwing away the present generation as refuse, is being determined. And thus the way is preparing by which the peace to follow this war shall be made perpetual.

Finally, it would seem that upon this narrow theatre, and in these troublous times, God is demonstrating against those who would mystify His plans and thwart His purposes, that in the councils of His infinite wisdom He has predestined no race, not even the Africans, to the doom of eternal bondage.

There are words of personal gratitude which it is not easy to suppress. To the superintendents, who have treated me with uniform kindness and subordination; to the Rev. Dr. Peck, to whom was assigned the charge of the general interests of Port-Royal Island; and to the Rev. Mr. French, who was charged with special duties; to the Benevolent Associations in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, without whose support and contributions, amounting, in salaries and donations of specific articles, to not less than 20,000 dols., this enterprise could not have been carried on, or commenced; to the Flag-Officer of the squadron and the Generals commanding, for facilities cheerfully afforded, particularly to Brig.-Gen. Stevens, to whom, as Port Royal, Ladies', and St. Helena Islands, were all within his district, it was necessary often to apply; to the Collector of New York, with whom the business operations have been conducted; to yourself, for confidence intrusted and continued, I am under special obligations. But, more than all, in parting with the interesting people who have been under my charge, I must bear testimony to their uniform kindness to myself. One of them has been my faithful guide and attendant, doing for me more service than any white man could render. They have come, even after words of reproof or authority, to express confidence and good resolves. They have given me their benedictions and prayers, and I should be ungrateful indeed ever to forget or deny them.

I am, your friend and servant,

EDWARD L. PIERCE,

Special Agent of Treas. Depart.